/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

567 Slavery is unknown. Men who have been, captured in war are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group 727 and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

584 The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

2: Kaufmann--75 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Photo. 44.
Betrothal or Marriage.

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Photo. 43.
Extending the Hand in Greeting.

[1 cont.]

115 German or English language, spoken and written, but also of their native tongue in grammar and phonetics.

000 Among the Zulu and Swazi I made my studies more as the occasion arose. Here I was indebted in particular to Father Andreas Ngidi in Inkamana, Princess Maris Dhlamini in Mbabane, and the Italian missionaries in Swaziland for my data. My travels were aided predominantly by the missions. Whereas in the diocese of the Catholic missions of Zululand and Marianhill the main emphasis of the work was upon anthropological and prehistoric matters, in Southwest Africa ethnological studies were the special task of the expedition. Through the kindness of the provicar, Father Schleipen of the Catholic Mission in Windhoek, the schoolteacher Alois Kheibeb was assigned to me, with whose help I came in contact with the old Dama. At the [2] Catholic Mission in Okombahe, Father Bachmann introduced me to the brother of Chief Gottlieb Horeseb, who came with a few other people to tell me stories. In Grootfontein it was Father Jaeger who placed his Dama schoolteacher, Nikolaus Horeseb, at my disposal. I then further succeeded in obtaining a very intelligent !Kung woman, Katiti, who was married to a Hei//om, and this made it possible for me to have verbal contact with the !Kung. In Ovamboland I was able to rely on the generous support of the Finnish Evangelical Mission. Through the help of Mr. Leuch I engaged a respected man from Oshigambo, Erastus Mbumba, who had been a clerk in Swakopmund for 13 years and who spoke superb German. The Bushmen informants in Ovamboland spoke Ovambo. In Epukiro the mission superior, Father Watterott, O.M.J., placed at my disposal the village headman, Franz Arenat, who in turn established contact for me with the Nogau Bushmen. The interpreters have to be paid well. To all those who helped me in my work, I should like at this point to express my heartfelt thanks.

[121] 115 [124]

123 In order to achieve genuine success in the ethnological field, it is necessary to gain the confidence and sympathy of the natives and to instill in them the conviction that one has no evil intentions toward them or would want to make them look ridiculous; money alone does not suffice. The relationship between the Whites and Coloreds is of such a kind that the native from the outset faces the White with the greatest distrust. The natives are basically a courteous people, and among themselves they live

648 576

[2 cont.]

648 according to strictly regulated codes of conduct. No native would
576 say something unpleasant to another without cause. Modes of address such as are frequently heard among us, for example, "You don't look well, are you ill?" and similar amiable remarks, are out of the question. Each native expects to be treated in accordance with his social position. The natives cannot understand it when, say, a European traveler or missionary treats young people with extraordinary kindness; on the other hand, they find the casual treatment of older people and patresfamilias a sign of crude tactlessness. In Ovamboland, for example, the term of
123 respect for men is tati = "father." The ethnologist who treats
648 the grey-haired men of a native tribe as though they were old people of his own race who, in whatever position they may find themselves, have fulfilled their life's task and therefore deserve respect will have won half the battle. However simple and matter-of-course following this maxim might seem, in actual practice it turns out to be quite difficult in many cases. Quite aside from the fact that many a scholar sees in the native less a fellow human being than an object of study, the chief difficulty lies in the traditional forms of conduct that the Whites have adopted toward the natives. No native is allowed to sit on a chair in the company of Whites. In European houses there is usually a little bench in front of or behind the entrance door for black notables. The ordinary native is made to squat on the floor. It is maintained, not unjustly, to be sure, that this is the natives' original manner of sitting; nonetheless, the Black finds this manner of sitting a humiliation if it is forced upon him by the European. The native, in the view of the Europeans residing there, is simply an inferior kind of human being, with whom they do not even want to go to the same church, a circumstance that makes the task of many missionaries considerably more difficult. Should the traveler make a radical break with these customs and practices, he would have to forego the company and support of the Europeans, on whom he is, after all, dependent. Hence, an extraordinary measure of tact is required in order not to injure the pride of either the Whites or the natives. At the same time, it is true that among certain tribes, such as the Herero or the Ombarantu, the dislike of the Whites is so intense that useful

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appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

[576] Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

[514] The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
124 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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term itself. Cf. System B, p. 16.) We know of no rule to prevent a name-relative being classified with any consanguineous kin or affine should his name not be on ego's ancestral list. 601

Supposing a name did not occur on ego's ancestral list but did occur several times among his contemporary consanguineous kin and affines, the question arises as to which kinsman or affine would be the one with whom ego would classify a person of that name. We have no precise data on this point, but we think that consanguinity takes precedence over affinity, or the near over the more distant relationship.

The spouses of kin are always paired terminologically with the kin (see p. 18), but this is not true of name-relatives. Ego establishes the name-relationship with each person of a married couple individually. It was in this connexion that we learnt of an aspect of the /Kung system which has not yet been mentioned.

Informants told us that ego may apply a term to the parents and children of an individual name-relative on the generational basis, if he has no term established by his ancestral list. If ego's term for a man is */gu!na* he may apply the term *tsu* to that man's Fa and So, observing the same alternation of the terms */gu!na* and *tsu* that is apparent in Diagram 1.

In this connexion informants told us furthermore that ' boys follow their fathers, girls follow their mothers ', meaning that a son is classified with respect to his father and a daughter with respect to her mother. Assuming that ego applies the term *tũn* to a woman, he could apply the term *||ga* to her Mo and Da. If ego applied the term *tsu* to that woman's Hu, he would use the term */gu!na* for her HuFa and for her So.

We think ego would use this method only if the parent or child of the name-relative had a name for which ego had no term. The /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region had so many name links that we did not observe people applying terms to parents and children of name-relatives in this manner.

There are a few additional terms to be mentioned. Co-wives of polygynous marriages use the terms */kwi*, elder Si, and *tsī*, younger Si, for each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they retain the term */gu!na*. 601 [595]

Step-father is *ba-tsu*, step-mother is *dai-||ga*, step-son is */ha-tsu*, and step-daughter is *≠khai-||ga*.

Mama is a word, heard often, which is not strictly a kinship term. It is applied m.s. and w.s. to any male or female when people wish to express pleasure, gratitude, or affection and it includes an element of respect. It is applied so frequently to grandparents that it becomes almost an alternate to the terms. [576]

System B

The second constellation of kin terms applies to affines. Whereas a person ' enters ' System A initially by way of biological ties and/or homonymy, he ' enters ' System B by way of marital ties—of himself, of his offspring and of his siblings. 601

We shall designate as ' primary ' certain affinal relationships which have a factor in common, namely: terms applied in these relationships are linked to the relationship, as the parent and child terms are linked to those relationships; nothing changes them. The method of homonymy is not practised. Furthermore, when a person comes into one of the primary affinal relationships with ego, ego drops whatever term he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

mediately down a hole. Gai continued treading in the half-hearted hope of another mouse, with a disappointed, intent expression on his face because the first had escaped him. Witabe, on the jeep, suddenly thought the whole performance so funny that he burst into laughter and laughed until he didn't make a sound, until tears ran out of his eyes and onto his belly, until he could hardly breathe, all to see Gai, the sole support of eleven people, the great hunter and provider, treading on top of a straw pile to chase away a mouse.

Gai was a little abashed and he stopped treading, but he did put his hand into the nest and pulled out the mouse's bed, a little ball of finer grass mixed with the mouse's own fur. Gai pulled it apart to show how it was made. We saw the mouse again when Witabe poked it out of the hole with a stick, but it ran back in at once, this time for good, so we went on, leaving the mouse with his home in a shambles and his soft bed gone.

We got back to camp late in the afternoon, and Tsetchwe was so glad to see us that she threw her arms around me and held up her baby for me to kiss. She and I were the only young women for miles around, so there was a bond between us. She often gave me her baby to mind—not an easy job because Nhwakwe was as innocent as he was bold, and I had once taken him from under the wheels of a truck that was about to move. I had carried him to the werf for safety, but he hadn't stayed long; in a short time we had seen the grass moving at the edge of camp and Nhwakwe had appeared once more, this time dragging a toy, having walked the long distance all by himself and having navigated purely by a sense of direction, for the thick grass was high above his head.

Tsetchwe did not kiss her husband or even greet him, as Bushmen are accustomed to short absences from each other and it is not the custom for men and women to kiss. They

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

show affection openly only to people of the same sex and to their children. Tsetchwe looked at Gai, though, and she smiled.

Twikwe greeted us by smiling her wry smile and saying: "So."

The springbok was thrown to the ground, but before it could go into the pot, Bill Donnellan, the doctor, came over to the werf to dissect it, this being an opportunity to find what the Bushmen thought about the systems of the body and what they knew about anatomy.

Gai agreed to tell what he knew, so the springbok was dragged to a sandy spot and a small fire was built—just two crossed sticks with one or two coals and a tiny flame, yet it warmed us, as the evening was becoming very cold. All the people sat around to watch as Bill opened the belly of the springbok and rolled it onto its back. He pointed to the diaphragm and asked what it was. Gai told him the name. "What is it for?" Bill asked.

"We eat it."

"Is it for anything else?"

"We don't know. We just eat it."

"What about the liver?"

"We eat the liver."

"Does the liver do anything for the springbok?"

"It stays there and then we kill him and eat it."

"And what about the stomach?"

"We Bushmen eat the stomach, too, and all the things in the springbok."

"Doesn't the stomach do anything for the springbok?"

"Yes, he eats grass which goes in there and makes him fat, and then we eat the fat."

Unwilling to give up easily, Bill passed on to the urogenital system, which is, after all, exterior and which anyone should

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 spearheads, tobacco and pipes, salt and candy and all the
123 water their containers would hold, all they could drink, and even enough water to wash in, for we had enough to take us to a waterhole a few hundred miles away where we could fill our drums. They did wash. Gai washed his whole body and
[142] emerged a shining gold. The others washed their arms and
[834] faces, modesty preventing their washing the rest, leaving them with golden arms and oval golden masks.

Tsetchwe was pleased with her presents—she hung her white beads in her hair and wrapped herself in the blanket, which, she said, was far softer than leather and which would not get stiff in the rain—but she did not seem happy. She spent the evening sitting beside me, for though we could not talk much with each other I knew that she liked me. "I will cry when you are gone," she said.

576 The two horses, formed by the six young boys, came pranc-
526 ing by, the riders riding loosely, the front feet of the horses galloping but the hind feet, because of the heavy load, trotting up and down. One horse disintegrated in front of us and the young boys who had formed it came forward slowly. The rider, a young boy from Okwa, seemed to want to ask me something. He was very shy, but finally he mustered his courage. "Are you a woman?" he said.

576 Ordinarily, he would have been too polite to ask a personal question, something which Bushmen almost never do because to them asking questions implies distrust, but it may be that on the day before our departure he had found his curiosity impossible to resist. Tsetchwe frowned at him, but I said: "Yes, I am."

The horse had been arguing with the rider, and the two boys who had been the front and hind legs seemed quite triumphant. "We told you so," one said.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

since that was all he remembered we went on again to the source of the first of the three fires.

It was there that we found Toma. He had been there all the time, only a few miles from where we had camped, and when he heard our jeep coming he watched us over the top of a bush before showing himself to see first who we were.

We saw him when he ran toward us. He was quite far off and we saw first his dark figure detach itself from the bush and run with long, swinging strides toward our jeep. He waved his arms and we knew at once that this, at last, was Toma. Before he reached us a second figure appeared from behind another bush and ran beside him, and we knew from the disjointed stride that this second man was Gao Big Feet, Toma's brother-in-law. We turned our jeep toward them and soon we met and the two men embraced us and laughed and said that they had known we would come back someday, and then they climbed in the jeep and took us to their werf, stopping first to get their spears and quivers, which they had left in the bushes, for no Bushman, no matter how excited, ever greets people with his weapons on his back because this might be taken as a sign that he was quarrelsome, looking for a fight.

Their werf was in a tiny thicket of thorn trees at the edge of the plain, screened in front by bushes, carefully concealed, but on a rise of ground where a man standing could easily scan the surrounding plain without being seen himself. There Toma and Gao Feet could observe the movements of the antelope that crossed the plains below them, waiting patient in the dappled shade of their trees' broad leaves as lions do. The two families stood in front of their bushes to meet us and they, too, embraced us and they all climbed in the jeep to do this, then climbed out again and stood back to see how we were.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

361 We got out and sat with them in their werf to talk before deciding what we would do next. Looking around, we saw that only the two families lived here, for there were only two sleeping-places, set, for the sake of a little privacy, on the opposite sides of one of the scrawny trees. The women had not built huts, but had scooped little hollows for themselves and their husbands which they had lined with soft grass bedding, and had put up two arching sticks at each of these hollows to mark the place where the door would be if a scherm had been there, for the Kung as well as the Gikwe need a sense of place. In fact, the Kung need it even more, for without their grass and marking-sticks the Kung feel homeless. Their sleeping hollows were like the soft grass nests of pheasants, hidden in the leaves.

276 576 The Bushmen all lit pipes and passed them—each pipe reached everybody, everybody shared and smoked, and the pipes circled slowly for an hour or more until the tobacco was gone. There was a brass pipe made of an old cartridge, a bone one, a horn one, and last of all a copper one that tasted very bad. The Bushmen cracked roasted tsi nuts and passed the fat little kernels around to each other, offering them on the palms of their hands. My brother told Toma that he had missed tsi because there was none in America.

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"What?" said Toma. "No tsi? Why didn't you plant some?"

"The soil is a little strong for it," said John.

"So."

"But tsi is good."

"No good," said Toma sadly. "I used to be fat. Now I am thin." He stuck out his leg and slapped at it. "Where is my fat?" he said.

He did not seem to be thinner than he used to be, though; he had only a scar on his belly and a scar on his back where

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Grove

674 685 Late in the afternoon of the day we met Toma, we decided to find the rest of his band—his wife's mother and the other part of Gao Feet's family. There were now nine adults and five children all intending to ride in the jeep and we were very crowded, but to relieve this condition as much as possible Toma left some of his possessions behind. He left a large, dry hide, scraped but not yet cured, rolled up and thrust in the branches of a tree, and a skin bag stuffed full of bedding grass under a bush. Someday he would return for them, perhaps when a season or two had passed, when he would be roaming near that spot again. Bushmen commonly leave their things anywhere they wish, for the things are never touched by others; theft is so unknown that Bushmen do not even forbid it, having no need for tabus or laws against that which never happens.

576 When Tu was in the jeep, wedged in tightly between others with her youngest children in her lap, she gave the werf that she was leaving one last glance and noticed the bag of grass that Toma had left behind. It was her bed too, after all, and when she saw it she pushed aside her children, pushed aside

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the people who crowded her in, and, clambering out of the jeep, ran back to retrieve it. It was an enormous bundle, but she dragged it to the jeep and tried to stuff it in, paying no attention at all to the others who insisted loudly that there was no room. She finally got it in, climbed in after it, and sat on it to squash it down. She completely ignored a lofty glance from her husband, a reproach for her impoliteness, and searched through her clothing for her pipe and her flint, with which she struck a light and smoked. In a sense, she and Toma were mismated, for the idea that she would have fewer things, less conveniences than someone else seemed to haunt Tu, while Toma seemed possessed with the fear that he would have more. When Tu took, Toma gave away.

We drove down the plain, leaving the nests in the forest behind ourselves forever, toward the eastern horizon, which was blue and shimmering in the heat of the late afternoon. We were too crowded and too jostled to talk much, everyone preferring to crouch quietly and ignore discomfort, except Tu, higher than the others on her bag of grass, who seemed very cheerful indeed and talked on and on. We stopped several times along the way—in fact, we had hardly started before Tu plucked at John's shoulder and asked him to wait. She had seen a gemsbok cucumber growing on a vine in the grass and wanted to pick it, so John stopped the jeep. Tu climbed out and found several, which she tossed in, letting them roll about freely on the floor. We were about to start again when Dikai also saw some cucumbers and we had to wait while she gathered those, and no sooner had we driven on again, the little cucumbers rolling against our ankles and prickling us with their spines, than Little Dabe vomited and we had to wait a third time while Dikai cleaned him up with a tuft of grass.

Toma sighed. Men plan to spend several days traveling

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

574 by now, cranky from the long ride; the bundles of tsi were unloaded, the bundles of belongings, and Tu's grass bed. Lazy
361 Kwi went off to find his wife and family, but the others, all
574 Toma's people, looked around for a place to live and finally chose a tall tree, where they dropped their bundles and began to clear grass. In a very short time the werf was ready, fires were lit, tsi was roasting, and several of the Bushmen who had watched us come had gathered there to see if they should have a share of the tsi. Of course everybody got some and then sat down to eat it, burying the nuts in the hot ashes and scooping them out again with a stick when they were done.
252 Dikai gave some tsi to me and said that I could use her fire, a
576 courtesy, so I buried the nuts in the ashes and when I thought they were done I poked for them with a stick but I couldn't find them. Pretty soon they began to explode with loud reports and puffs of gray ashes which showed where they were, but of course then it was too late. You might as well throw them away if you forget where they are, the Bushmen say.

252 Some of the newcomers were eating giraffe hide, roasting great pieces of it, dried and thick and curling; they passed chunks of it around and it looked like the soles of shoes, all that remained of a giraffe hunted long ago. When it was roasted the people put it in a wooden mortar and pounded it into powder, and then licked the powder off their palms. Again, Dikai gave some to me and I found that it was salty and not unpleasant, tasting like bacon.

201 Gao Feet plucked my elbow and when I turned to him he
576 pointed at Dikai, sitting on the other side of the fire. He had pointed his lips at her, pushing his lips forward and gesturing with his chin because Bushmen think it is rude to point with the finger. "She wants to tell you what is in her heart," he
604 said. I looked at Dikai and she passed her hand over her two sons' eyes, first Little Gashe, then Little Dabe, as they slept

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

together in front of the truck and when we climbed down they embraced us.

We went on toward the werf with these men and boys clinging to the sides of the truck and laughing loudly at those among them who were raked by thorn branches that the truck drove through, and at the edge of the werf we saw the women standing all together, waving and calling to us, and we stopped again and they too embraced us and kissed me, and the little children gravely shook my hand.

Short Kwi's mother-in-law was there with a wide and toothless smile, her face all wrinkled like a little shriveled pear, and many other people, among them the old man who had never shot a buck and whose sister had died in the forest; he now was nobody's close relative and we noticed he had lost an eye and seemed even more malevolent and sad. He greeted us distantly, but the others were enthusiastic. The little children tried to climb on me and finally someone put a baby in my arms. The baby bit me, but he meant me no harm, for when he bit I felt the sharp edge of a new tooth coming, which probably itched.

We passed through the bushes and came into the werf, where the people had obviously been living for a long time, judging by the size of the ash heaps at the fires and the depth of the nests that people had dug for themselves. Looking around, it came to us that many people whom we had expected to see were not there, Short Kwi for one, and his wife. When we asked for them, Short Kwi's brother-in-law said that he would take us to see him presently. When we asked for the others who were missing—among them the man with two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama—we were told that these people had all been taken by the farmers and had never been seen again. We were very sad to hear it, for many of them were too old to have to do the heavy

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on.

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again.

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *sa* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead.

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations.

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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uproarious, derisive laughter. All this is joking and one should not take offence. The /Kung say this teaches young persons to keep their tempers.

In contrast to the joking is their care in other aspects of conduct to avoid giving offence. ≠Toma said, for instance, that, if he were forming a hunting party and a man whom he did not want asked to join him, he would be careful to refuse indirectly by making some excuse and try not to offend the man.

Gossip which can stir up trouble is discouraged. People do gossip but usually discreetly, in low voices, with near and trusted relatives and friends. It is best to mind one's own business, they say.

People are expected to control their tempers and do so to a remarkable degree. If they are angry, aggrieved, or frustrated, they tend to mope rather than to become aggressive, expressing their feelings in low mutters to their close relatives and friends. ≠Toma told us that he had lost his temper twice when he was a young man and on one occasion had knocked his father down. On the other he had pushed his wife into hot ashes. It had so frightened him to realize that he could lose control of himself and behave in this violent way that, he said, he had not lost his temper since.

Meat-sharing

The /Kung custom of sharing meat helps to keep stress and hostility over food at a low intensity. The practical value of using up the meat when it is fresh is obvious to all and the /Kung are fully aware of the enormous social value of the custom. The fear of hunger is mitigated; the person one shares with will share in turn when he gets meat and people are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. If there is hunger, it is commonly shared. There are no distinct haves and have-nots. One is not alone.

To have a concept of the potential stress and jealousy which meat-sharing mitigates in /Kung society one has only to imagine one family eating meat and others not when they are settled only five or ten feet apart in a firelit werf and there are no walls for privacy. The veld does not hide secret killing and eating because actions are printed in its sands for all to read. The idea of eating alone and not sharing is shocking to the /Kung. It makes them shriek with an uneasy laughter. Lions could do that, they say, not men.

The custom of meat-sharing applies only to the big game animals. Small animals the size of duikers or smaller, birds, tortoises, lizards, grasshoppers, snakes, and ostrich eggs are picked up incidentally and belong to the person who shoots, snares, finds or catches them. He may keep these for himself and his immediate family and may share them as he chooses, as if they were veldkos. ≠Toma says that, if there is only a little, he and his family eat a meal and give a little to anyone who happens to be near by at the time.

Meat-sharing applies to the big animals which are deliberately hunted by organized hunting parties. In the Nyae Nyae region they are kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok, warthogs and ostrich. Eland are found less commonly and buffalo rarely. The Nyae Nyae hunters managed to shoot giraffe occasionally. Giraffe are royal game by S.W.A. law, but the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not known this. When they were told, they called them ' Morrisi cows'. (Mr. Robert Morris was the Commissioner of Native Affairs at Runtu.)

The system by which meat is shared begins with the hunters, but the composition

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

where the names came from (' The old people told us that he gave himself these names ', they said) and I do not have sufficient relevant comparative material to throw possible light on the question. Informants said that ≠*Gao!na* was the oldest of the names of God and that */Gara* was the next oldest.

The Names of the Lesser God

The great god named the lesser god by giving him all of his own ' divine ' names but not his human name, ≠*Gao!na*.

Having been named for the great god, the lesser god is the great god's namesake, his *!guma* (*!gu* is name, *ma* is small or younger), and the great god is the *!gu!na* (*!na* means old, older, or big).

The concept of the namesake, and of the relationship between the *!gu!na* and the *!guma*, is an important one in the /Kung kinship system.[1] */Gu!na* and *!guma* are always of the same sex, /Kung names being sex-linked. One shares in some mystical way the entity of the person for whom one is named. Incest taboos require that one must not marry the parent or offspring of one's *!gu!na* or *!guma*. Behaviour between a *!gu!na* and a *!guma* is as open and free from formal restrictions as any in /Kung society. They have the joking relationship. Only the usual respect of the young for the old is expected.

The opposite conditions exist between parent and child. A man must not name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Parent and offspring do not have the joking relationship.

It was interesting to me to find the great and lesser god in the *!gu!na–!guma* relationship rather than the father–son relationship, as it offers some evidence that the concept of the two gods is not influenced by the Christian concept of God, the father, and Jesus, the son. Also one comes to see that the father-son relationship would not serve the Bushmen as well as the *!gu!na–!guma* relationship in explaining the problem of evil, for a son would not present as sharp a duality, but, according to human standards, would express respect, obedience, deference, propriety, and assistance, which is not *in total* the function of the lesser god.

The Names of the Wives of the Gods

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe that ≠*Gao!na* gave all his own ' divine ' names to both of the wives; *di*, the suffix which means ' female ' is added: *Hithedi*, *Huwedi*, *Kxodi*, */Garadi*, *Gani gadi*, ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gaidi*, *//Ganwadi*.

≠*Gao!na*, the great god's human name, is not applied to the wives, men's names never being given to women. One would say instead ≠*Gao!na a tsan*, ' ≠*Gao!na* his wife '.

Each wife has a human name as well. The elder one, who usually lives alone with ≠*Gao!na*, is named *Khwova!na*, Old Khwova. The younger one is *//Gow*. (*//Gow* rhymes with *how*. The *ao* sound in the men's names Gao, ≠Gao, and /Gao I use arbitrarily and mean by it a slightly shorter, more closed sound, like the *ou* in *ouch*.) We knew only two women named *//*Gow but knew many Khwovas.

The wives of the gods may be referred to or addressed by a respect term, used

[1] Cf. Lorna Marshall, ' The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen ', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, no. 1, Jan. 1957, pp. 1–25.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776
[576] only for females, *kolidi*, a term which one may also apply to women when one wants to be especially polite and to honour them. It is used for women ' who possess lots of things ', the /Kung explained. *Gaoxadi*, the female form of one of the respect terms for the gods, may also be applied.

[222] *Khwova/na* is also called ' the mother of the bees '. When men go to look for honey they pray to her.

' The wives of the gods have the same work as their husbands. Their work is also strong ', we were told.

The Names of the Children of the Gods

The names of the six children of the gods are as follows: for the boys—*/Kwa ma*, *Nami*, */Kung go*; for the girls—*/Kharu*, */Nai*, */Kow*. *Nami*, */Kharu*, and */Nai* are familiar names to me, the others are not. These names are from Robert Dyson's notes (for which I want to express my gratitude), and it is possible that the name he writes */Kow* is the same as the one I write *//Gow*. As I have said, such questions and discrepancies about words are very common.

In the myths, but not in the /Kung's current account of their beliefs, *≠Gao/na* has
[821] two other sons who are involved in many strange events with their father. Their names are *Khan//a* and *Kxoma*. They were turned into the two stars in the vertical axis of the Southern Cross which now bear their names. Alpha Crux is *Khan//a*; Gamma Crux is *Kxoma*.

Miss Bleek was told that *Hishe* was sometimes ' followed by children like baboons '.[1] The image this gives of the divine children leaping and playing and following like infant baboons is amusing. The image which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have, however, is very different. ' The girls are fresh and beautiful ', they say, ' not ugly like Bushmen.' Their skin is the colour of Bushman skin but at its lightest shade (*gan*).

[775] The children are called little *//ganwasi* (*si* is the plural suffix). The spirits of the dead are also called *//ganwasi*. It is the children's special duty to carry the spirits of mortals, when they die, from the dead bodies to their ' father in the sky '. We were told that the little *//ganwasi* are helpful to humans. ' They watch over them and help to prevent *≠Gao/na* from getting angry.'

Terms of Respect and Disrespect

776
576 In addition to the names, the Nyae Nyae /Kung apply three terms of respectful address to the gods: *gaoxa*, *n/iha*, and */nan*. As I mentioned in my paper on the structure of bands,[2] the terms *gaoxa* and *n/iha* may be applied also to human chiefs, or to persons who are over others, like a district commissioner, and they are sometimes applied to a Bushman headman, although, to be strictly proper in /Kung, a headman is called *kxau*, ' owner '. *Gaoxa* is the more exalted term. Some informants felt that to call a man *gaoxa* was to compare him to the deity, which might anger the gods. Others felt that it ' sounded like a curse ' to call a man *gaoxa*. The term pleases *≠Gao/na*, however. When he hears it applied to himself he knows that the people respect and fear him and ' he has a good feeling about them '.

/Nau among the Nyae Nyae /Kung is a term of respect for any old man and it is

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 192.

[2] Cf. Lorna Marshall, ' /Kung Bushman Bands,' *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–55.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

also commonly used for any man (not a boy) older than the speaker when the speaker must avoid saying the name. The people address the gods as */nan* and *gaoxa* more commonly than as *n/iha*. We were told that they call the great god */nan* ' when he is good '.

It is interesting to know that the power of the great god, his omnipotence which he was so mysteriously able to create for himself, is called *gaoxa* and that the special potent ' spiritual ' medicine which the great god puts into the medicine men, the curing power, is also called *gaoxa*.

The /Kung often call the great god ' father ' especially in supplication, and plead that he succour his ' children ' and give them rain or good fortune in the hunt or whatever they may be asking for.

Nonabe is a term of great disrespect, a ' scolding ' term. When used for a human being it is a curse and a terrific insult. A man who felt himself greatly wronged by another and in violent anger would say of the man who wronged him, ' That *Nonabe*! ' But he would not say this to the man's face ' for if he did there might be a fight (so great is the insult). When he saw the man in person he would come in peace to him, not showing his anger '. *Nonabe* is used in blasphemy by the medicine men in trance, along with other insults when they are combating the gods and the *//ganwasi* in the medicine dances, demanding that they take away the evil they have brought.

The Fear of the Names

The Nyae Nyae /Kung ' fear ' (*koa*) to utter the names of the gods. The word 'means both' to be afraid of, as one is afraid of a mamba, and 'to respect and avoid', as one respects one's mother-in-law and avoids speaking to her and saying her name.

Children must strictly avoid saying any of the names of the gods. Old men and women need not observe an absolutely restrictive taboo in uttering the names, and may and do say them, but there seems to be an element of taboo (it is a ' death-thing ', they say) and fear of drawing attention to themselves. We were aware of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them. Our information was gathered for the most part in 1953 and 1955 at many different sessions with fifteen men and eight women informants who had proved to be reliable. Others joined the talks casually and when they wished to do so. Our informants declared themselves willing to teach me because I wished to know. Throughout the discussions people varied in the degree of caution and discretion with which they spoke the names. Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying ' the one in the east ', ' the one in the west '. On one occasion /Ti/kay told me that my questions made him sick. He meant to claim, I ascertained, that he had an actual physical sensation such as a nervous twinge or slight nausea. The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, ' *Huwodi* '. Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods. /U, when someone was ill at Cho/ana, and she was filled with anxiety and longing to be home at Gautscha, made me promise not to say the names or ask any more questions, at least until we were all safely back.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [212]
liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576]
as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not matle by the owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606]
is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593]
portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her